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THE NORTH-AMERICAN REVIEW.

The United States and England, being a reply to the criticism on Inchiquin's Letters, contained in the Quarterly Review for January, 1814. New-York, Inskeep, pp. 115, 8vo.

IN the whole history of literature, it will be difficult to produce a more disgraceful paper, than the one, which this pamphlet was written to answer. We are induced to make it the first object of our attention, from motives of deeper interest, than such as appertain to any common dispute of criticism ; and these motives, founded on large and general views, will make us anxious to avoid, as far as possible, mingling any temporary political feelings, with the examination we mean to make of the subject.

We may perhaps convey information to some of our readers, in giving a few remarks on the present state of the press in England ; which is, like almost every thing else in that country, so compact and condensed, so active and disciplined, so energetick and incessant, that it possesses greater power than in any other. The tone to every thing is given in the capital. The country newspapers only circulate in their immediate district, and their main support is advertisements, with which, a few paragraphs excepted, they are exclusively occupied. Those that have less of this advertising patronage, of course a very restricted circulation, are principally filled with extracts from the London papers, and with hardly an exception, are never known beyond a narrow circle. The daily and weekly papers of the metropolis, but particularly the former, are the great channels through which news, and political reasonings are conveyed to the publick ; and though they are numerous, a few only are in wide circulation. These are found on every breakfast table in the city, as well as in the regions of fashion, in every coffee house from St. James's to White Chapel ; they are despatched every evening to all parts of the empire ; and when the Courier in its ten thousand copies, announced the capture of the Essex, " We have the satisfaction to confirm

“and lay before our readers, a detailed account of the capture of the above frigate, or rather we should say line of battle ship;” at Brighton and Bristol, in Devonshire and Northumberland, every eye was reading it within a few hours of each other. The influence over publick sentiment from gazettes so universal and simultaneous as these, may be readily estimated; and will go far to justify the Abbé de Montesquiou, the French minister, who, in one of the debates in the parliament of France, described the English government, to be *an oligarchy, balanced and controlled by the freedom of the press.*

Among these papers, the Times,* the Morning Post, the Courier, and the Morning Chronicle, are the ablest, and have the most extensive circulation. Of these, the three former have been for years constant, and from some appearances we may say systematick, in their abuse of this country; not merely on political subjects, which is less unfair, since allowance is universally made for the warmth and prejudice of party feelings; but, as they did with France, in unremitted efforts to blacken and degrade our moral character; more particularly, after the conclusion of the European war, when, filling the air with their clamours for our political destruction, they sought to counteract every thing like humanity in their own nation, and the rest of Europe, by the most vehement misrepresentation, and exhausting every

* *The Times* has the largest circulation, is conducted with great talent, and affects independence: the *Morning Post* busies itself very much with fashion, and is distinguished for puns, feeble, stupid verses, and a peculiarly rancorous, unmanly, bombastick, nauseous manner of treating politicks. The *Morning Chronicle* is remarkable for wit and epigrams, occasionally sensible and liberal editorial essays, but often great blunders and untenable positions. The *Courier* is the ablest and most extensive evening paper, conducted with much ability, in the politicks of the prevailing administration, and taking up warmly the personal cause of the Prince. This last and the *Times* publish 9 or 10,000 copies daily, and on some occasions more. Besides these are the *Publick Ledger*, which circulates among mercantile men, and was gained, by the Canada and Nova-Scotia interests, to write with great bitterness against the United States. The *Morning Herald*, the property of the Rev. Sir H. B. Dudley, Bart. containing the particular politicks of Carleton House, and the most authentic reports of pugilistick combats, &c. The *British Press* is a sort of double to the *Chronicle*: The *Sun*, an evening paper of very limited circulation, is ministerial; virulent and scurrilous generally, and particularly so towards America. The *Star*, is also on the side of administration, contains frequent extracts from American papers, and, though warmly opposed to us, is less abusive than the *Sun*. The *Statesman*, another evening paper, is the advocate of the school of Sir Francis Burdett and the Reformers. The *Globe* is a neutral paper. Among the numerous Sunday papers, *Bell's Weekly Messenger* is the most respectable, and with the largest circulation: it has always inculcated friendly politicks towards America, till the late war, when it took side against us, yet without violent abuse. *Cobbet* is the only paper that has taken the side of our administration, but his subscribers are not more than a fourth of what they once were.

term of contempt upon our character. When it is considered, that these daily draughts were given to the publick, mixed with great skill, strength and vivacity, it is not to be wondered at, that shallow minds were almost completely intoxicated, and good ones poisoned in their feelings towards this country.

This effect was more easily produced, from the habits of the publick since the French revolution. The revolutionizing principles in the early part of the contest, the conquering ones in the latter, and the aggrandizing in all, made it in some degree necessary for self-defence, to stigmatize the principles and character of their enemy, and naturally enough to exalt their own. This gradually wore off any remains of diffidence in praising themselves, or hesitation at aspersing their foes, till of late years there is neither decency nor measure in these pursuits, and this outrageous boasting of the newspapers, has contributed greatly to debauch the ancient modesty of their character. When any fortunate battle or event was to be announced, the dictionary was exhausted for terms; great, glorious, proud, thinking, dignified, transcendant, brave, valiant, virtuous, spotless, immortal nation, were prodigally dispersed in the complacent columns of a second edition, till the bouncing and rolling periods of the transported Editor, seemed no bad imitation of the reports and echoes, of the Park and Tower guns.

This disposition to think themselves infallible, was further cultivated by the prevailing practice of self-approbation, in parliament and all publick assemblies. The ministry propose their measures, as suitable to a great, generous, magnanimous nation, the only hope of Europe; the opposition ground their censures on the same principle; that this or that measure is unworthy the noble, virtuous, superior character of Englishmen. The same basis was acted upon at political dinners, where they meet by candle light, are all of one mind, make speeches for or against particular men and measures, and praise themselves *ad libitum*; in fact, an American caucus, with the addition of eating and drinking. Then there are numerous charitable meetings in the metropolis, and all over the country, at which a number of persons,

Qui se sont faites philanthropes pour être quelque chose,

bustle into a fleeting notoriety, by making harangues in which exclusive claims to virtue for their own, and arrogant pity for other nations, are the leading topicks; in which the coarsest flattery and profuse praise are thrown over an individual, sitting by the side of the speaker, and in the face of the whole assembly. The individual thus praised, gets up in his turn, and displays his gratitude by the most lavish panegyrick.* It may be easily perceived, how these constant habits of conferring on their own nation unlimited praise—this attributing the highest moral qualities to themselves, the contrast being commonly heightened by deploring the irreligion, vice and misery of the Continent, should make them gradually forget by whom this praise is given; and coming at last to believe implicitly, what they had been told so confidently, they should be apt to confound their enemies with the enemies of virtue; and should think, that what they did was always right, that their own government was neither ambitious nor monopolizing, that their own statesmen never blundered or transgressed in their policy, and that all who opposed them must be both wicked and corrupt.

After these preliminary observations on the daily press, and the habits of publick thinking, we come now to the *Quarterly Review*. This was established by the friends of government in opposition to the *Edinburgh Review*; whose authority on all questions of taste and morals, and on some in philosophy and political science, was admitted without dissent, but which was devoted to the support of their opponents, in the politicks of the day. It therefore became necessary to publish a rival work, which should also possess the charms of fine writing and sagacious criticism, and in politicks counteract the views of its northern competitor. For this purpose, many of the most eminent wits and scholars of the "Church and King" school, were selected to give this work reputation. Some of these never entered very heartily, if at all, into the undertaking, and it has never in any point attained to the reputation of its rival. Still however it is patronized by the friends of the present administration, and widely circulated among the reading classes in England.

* To a foreigner of any nation, a scene of this kind is very amusing, and forms an admirable comment on that reserve and diffidence which English writers frequently consider as one of the distinguishing traits in their character.

It was in this work, published under these auspices, that forty-five pages of the number for January of last year, were devoted to the most laboured, revolting libel on the United States; involving the general and state governments, the whole nation from north to south, and from east to west—their character and conduct, moral, social and political, in one wide covering of profligacy, brutality and crime. If the partisans of the administration in England, had chosen to attack the conduct of our administration, the dependents of the latter might have answered it if they pleased; we should not have interfered in the quarrel. *Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.* But, that a work pretending to high literary character, and only noticing politics incidentally, should be made use of, to carry into every library in England a collected mass of calumny and falsehood against a whole nation, and this at a period of extreme irritation arising out of war; that such a moment should be seized, and such means employed, to endeavour to make hostility and hatred immortal, is the offence that moves our indignation. Mr. Southey, who once wrote sonnets to a regicide, and now odes to the Prince Regent of England, has been accused of being the compiler of this libel; a fact which the author of the pamphlet before us treats as certain. For our part, though we have never relished his poetry very highly, we have always thought him a man of genius and virtue; and we believe indeed that he will be able to clear himself from this charge, and that the conductors of the Review, will even hereafter make an *amende honorable* to the publick.

We shall first make a cursory examination of the authorities adduced by the Reviewer.—*Weld* is quoted to furnish an exaggerated portrait of a Virginia planter; to prove that it is difficult to obtain a bed to one's self at an inn; to give the practices allowed in fighting in Kentucky; and to tell that the cows and sheep graze about the streets of Washington, with a bell about their necks, to prevent their being lost. It is not necessary to comment on these facts and mistakes. Mr. Weld, though he has given some misrepresentations in his work, is one of the most decent travellers, who have published accounts of the United States. From particular considerations, he was led to praise Canada at our expense, and this has given him, in some places, the appearance of prejudice. We may here

make a general remark, which will apply to him, as well as other travellers. He visited this country eighteen years ago, and a person may as well figure to himself a young girl at twenty, from having seen her at the age of five, as form an idea of many parts of our country now, from what they were at that time. The conveniencies of travelling, the prosperity of the country, and the growth of our cities, have wrought a greater change than ever took place in any country during the same period.

We next advert to *Burnaby*, who was an English clergyman, and is cited but once, and this oddly enough, to describe some of the processes of bundling.* He wrote an insignificant book of travels about 30 years since. *Priest* is quoted for a rule of an assembly at Hanover in Virginia, "that no gentleman is to enter the room without breeches," (that is, that he should not come in pantaloons) "or be allowed to dance without his coat." The Reviewer may perhaps have heard, that this same rule was enforced during the peace of 1803, on some Englishmen at the Opera in Paris, who, from the excessive heat, took off their coats in the boxes; the clamours of the pit, forced the attention of the police; and a soldier was sent to request them to walk out of the box into the lobby, where, having replaced their coats, they were suffered to return to their seats. We confess we think the Parisian pit, and the Virginia assembly were right in thinking it indecent, for a gentleman to take off his coat in publick. *Priest* is further cited, to prove the unfortunate situation of the Irish and German *Redemptioners*. They are no doubt often exposed to cruelty and hardship; yet a very large portion of them have had their condition meliorated in this country. *Priest* was a musician in the orchestra of some of our theatres, during a few years: he published an octavo volume, which is not much in request. *Wansey* is brought forward to prove that the members of

* This is a subject that has frequently attracted the notice of the English savans, who have travelled in the United States. We have heard of some amateurs, impelled by a laudable curiosity to investigate the customs of their country, who have vainly sought for an opportunity of performing this ceremony. The practice is said still to exist in some parts of Great Britain, among the peasantry; we believe it does no longer in this country. It is a very natural species of courtship, among a simple, rustick people, for among such only can it exist. In the works of Colonel de Weiss, there is an account and strong defence of it, as practised in Switzerland. Here these rites are attended with great mystery, if not quite obsolete; and we suspect have now fallen into the domain of the Antiquarian Society, who may perhaps favour the publick with some researches on the subject, in their first volume of Transactions.

Congress have each of them a desk to write upon, and to keep their papers. This to be sure is a luxury compared with the inconvenient, uncomfortable seats of both Houses of Parliament in England ; but even uncomfortable seats will not prevent tiresome speeches, and they still sit, though ill at ease, through many a night of tedious debate. Our Senate and House of Representatives may therefore be accommodated with desks, particularly as they are much less numerous. Wansey was a Wiltshire clothier, who visited the United States on business, and staid three or four months. He passed some days in Boston, and the object that struck him most, was the railings on the tops of the houses in State-street for drying clothes. He published a harmless duodecimo volume.

Parkinson is quoted to prove, that a man, who shot another, was tried and acquitted on the plea of insanity. There have been several cases of the same kind in England, which is generally considered a proof of the humanity of their laws. We confess, we doubt the expediency of ever pardoning a man on this plea, or the humanity of commuting the punishment of hanging, into that of perpetual incarceration, as is the case of late years in England. It is surprising that *Parkinson* is not made use of more copiously. He was an English farmer, who came here with very extravagant notions, and returned soured and disappointed. He related many facts in his works, among others, that there was no land in America, that produced more than five bushels of wheat per acre. And his facts were so salutary to discontented men of his class, that it has been maliciously suspected, he was encouraged to write his book.

Moore, the imitator of Anacreon, is quoted several times ; but his works are too well known to require any comment. He was received, in this country, with the most open, admiring, caressing hospitality ; he went away, and slandered it in some indifferent verses. He was very young at the time, and expected promotion from persons whose patronage he has since given up. If we have not been misinformed, he regrets these performances ; if so, far be it from us to revive them. *Lambert* is quoted to prove, from a story that he relates of the people of Worcester, that the inference of the reviewer with regard to the state of Massachusetts, is just, that, " where the courts of justice are not " respected, the people are very apt to take the law into their " own hands." A passage is also quoted from him, descrip-

tive of a camp-meeting of the methodists. It is indeed true, that the Southern and Western States are infested with these fanaticks, but we believe the nuisance is decreasing, and in England, though many are alarmed at their progress in the church, their extravagancies are less than they were formerly. He is further made use of to describe the stages of dram-drinking in Virginia, and to say, that some of the democrats in Pennsylvania once proposed, that their lawyers should not be allowed to quote from English law-books. Lambert rode through a considerable part of the United States in the mail stage, and has published two octavos descriptive of this country and Canada, which are rather uninteresting. He had not many advantages in seeing society; he seems to have possessed good intentions, and reprobates the absurd and malignant misrepresentations, in most of the books of his countrymen respecting us.

We had almost overlooked *Michaux*, whom the Reviewer has cited as one of his authorities. The following is the passage in which he is brought forward. "Mr. Michaux had the good fortune to be travelling in America, at the auspicious period when the tax upon the whiskey distilleries was repealed; and to witness the rejoicings on that occasion. At one of the taverns, which he visited, the rooms, the stairs, the yard, were covered with men dead drunk, and those who were still able to get their teeth separated, uttered only the accents of rage and fury." Now if the critick will turn to a long account of the fête, "the truly English fête," given at Belvoir Castle, last year, by the duke of Rutland, at the christening of his infant son, the Marquis of Granby, for whom the Prince Regent, and, if we mistake not, the Duke of York, stood sponsors; if he will turn to the pompous description of this fête, advertised in the principal newspapers of the day, to do the family honour, he will find this drunken frolick of the boors of Pennsylvania, very similar to the brutal orgies of Belvoir Castle; and which, incredible as it seemed, were given to the publick with so much complacency. We regret that we have not the papers by us, to enable our readers to make the comparison.

There remain Ashe, Janson and Cobbet. Janson, it appears, came to this country to live by the practice of his profession as a lawyer; that he was dissatisfied and grumbled at every thing, got into debt, and was obliged to make his escape from his creditors. He returned to England,

published a splendid book, a true job of the trade, pirated the plates, filled it with trash and called it, after the manner of Sir John Carr, the "Stranger in America." The book would probably never have been mentioned again, had not these remorseless Reviewers, "who unplumb the dead for bullets" "to assassinate the living," brought it into notice. The author of the pamphlet has done such ample justice to Mr. Janson, that we shall say no more of him.

If there were any doubt of the Reviewers' being fully acquainted with the character of Ashe, it would be removed by the note respecting him, in which he betrays his guilt. "If Ashe be an impostor, the Knight of Bridge-street is answerable for him." Sir Richard Phillips, "the Knight of Bridge-street," is the proprietor of the Monthly Magazine; and in order to promote its circulation in France, it being one of the few works permitted by Bonaparte, he omitted publishing the British official despatches, from Spain, while he cautiously inserted all the French bulletins. For conduct of this kind, the patrons of the Quarterly Review last year, aided the establishment of a new Monthly Magazine, to rival the old one. Independently of politicks however, it may be asked, what credit they would attach to the responsibility of the Knight of Bridge-street? To return to Mr. Ashe, he is well known as a libeller by profession; his travels in America,* written in a garret, in London, was one libel, his "Spirit of the Book," another. His conduct to the Countess of B. and other tricks of the same kind, must we think have been known to the Reviewers; but his general character was notorious. What monstrous baseness, then, to cite as a principal witness, a wretch like him! can it be surpassed? We come at last to *Cobbet*, of whom great use is made. There is no man whom the patrons of the Quarterly Review have "persecuted" more than the author of *Peter Porcupine*. There is no writer of the present day, whom they more deeply hate, or whose opinions they despise more sincerely. A convicted libeller on both sides of the Atlantick, he has, in a few years, gone the complete round of party in both countries. There is no man or measure that he once abused, that he does not now praise, and none that he now calumniates, that he has not

*The reader who wants to be informed about this work can consult the Monthly Anthology for March, 1809.

formerly panegyricized. He is constant only in violence, and his style is imbued with his original profession; there is a drilling repetition of his arguments, and commanding vulgarity of manner, that more frequently recalls the cane of the sergeant, than the pen of a politician. It is ominous however to any party, to whom he attaches himself; his rancour, violence and brutal abuse, did the federalists infinite mischief, while he sided with them; and as he has now patronized their opponents, we trust his exertions may obtain for them a similar result.

Having thus hastily examined his witnesses, we may form some opinion of his fitness for the task he has undertaken, by some of his assertions, in which he is so positive, that he has not thought it necessary to produce any vouchers. Among these are, that Mr. Jefferson, while Vice-President, "obtained a pernicious influence over the "President," (Adams.) Another, that the Judges of the United States are chosen by election, and have no fixed and permanent salaries, so that, "they become, in fact, the "creatures of the President and Senate; and the test of "their 'good behaviour,' is their acting in all political "matters, conformably with the views of the government."

It is most remarkable, that for every insulated anecdote, that he has brought forward to prove the general character of the country, we might with very little labour discover an overwhelming parallel. One of these, the case of Lyon, has been taken up by the author of the work before us, and which will be found among our extracts; but as he has not carried it through, we will here supply the omission. The Reviewer says, "this man was afterwards convicted of "seditious practices, and of libelling the President; was put "in jail; was re-elected while there; and again escaped "expulsion by the active support of the democratic party." "Happy the nation," says Cobbet, "where there is but one "step, from the condemned hole to the Legislature!" A very few months after this was written, lord Cochrane, having been struck from the list of the navy, driven from the Order of the Bath, expelled the House of Commons, condemned to a heavy fine, a year's imprisonment, and the pillory, was returned by the city of Westminster, while in prison, a member of the House of Commons.

The more we consider this article of the Review, the more we are confounded at its rashness, at the provocation

given to recrimination, which would be easy and fruitful of reflections. Some of these are so prominent, and so notorious even to those who have never been in England, that they instantly occur to the mind of every one ; a disgust at scandal, and a respect for the English nation, could alone prevent recurring to them in self defence. Had the writer too forgotten the indignation which was felt for the work of the notorious *Fieveé*, in which the most odious picture was given of England, by extracts from all the satires of her own subjects ? But, no reflection of this kind would have deterred him from his design, of aspersing and misrepresenting our whole nation, in the opinion of every individual in England ; which would be the more easily effected, as the same persons who might be on their guard against the passion and falsehood of the daily papers, would be imposed upon by the respectability of a work, not specially employed in party discussions ; and being maturely published at distant intervals, is supposed to be more measured and cautious in its opinions. Of thousands who will have read this libel, by far the greater part will never see any refutation of it ; and numbers, without reflecting on its extravagance, or being able to detect its absurdity, will hold the very name of American in contempt and detestation. When the intercourse between different countries is so extensive and beneficent, as it has become in modern times, it seems as though some punishment should be devised by common consent, against the libeller, who, in defaming a whole nation, does every thing in his power to engender mutual animosity.

In the present instance, the common imputations of coarseness, rudeness, and vulgarity, are so diminished in the mass of deformity and vice, under which the critick has attempted to bury us, as to be of very subordinate interest. But as this accusation of coarseness is a favourite one, and has been often made from more respectable quarters ; we are induced, as this is a discussion that can excite no bitterness, to turn, for a moment, upon those who bring it forward.

A gentleman of France or Italy, would stare at hearing an accusation of coarseness and rudeness, coming from England, where a celebrated wit of the former country, said, *there was nothing polished but steel.** We shall venture

* ‘ When the Count de Laraguais was asked, on his return from England, his opinion of its produce and inhabitants, he exclaimed ; “ *Ah ! c’est le pays le plus drôle qu’on puisse imaginer. Ils ont vingt religions, mais ils n’ont qu’une sauce. Toutes les liqueurs sont aigres hormis le vinaigre. Ils n’ont de fruit mûr, que*

to cite two or three cases of violations of delicacy and refinement, without recurring to those florid compounds of beef and porter, who sometimes come among us to vend their wares; nor to the egregious cockneys of London, or even to those consequential personages, who, in a gait between the swing of a sailor, and the trampling of a dragoon, saunter in trios through Pall Mall, Bond Street and St. James's. We shall mount into higher regions for our examples, and, if a single error can be discovered there, the quality of our proofs may spare us the irksome labour of increasing the quantity. They are selected from the public papers during a short period.

The first instance, is a letter from a general officer in the British army, Lord Dalhousie, to the Duke of Angoulême, a descendant of him who was immortalized in these well-known lines :

And thou Dalhousie, thou great God of war,
Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of Mar.

It is copied from the Morning Chronicle of April 25, 1814, and is dated, "Bordeaux, April 11th. Sir, I hasten with all the warmth and sincerity of a truly English heart, to congratulate your Royal Highness on the great events which have been at length announced. As a pledge of the joy of Lord Wellington and my country, I am eager to offer the liberty of 300 officers and soldiers now in my power. I beg your Royal Highness to be pleased to send them to their homes, that they may be the happy messengers of the restoration of the Bourbons, and the happiness of France. This step, the responsibility of which I take upon myself, animated by the example of the Conquerour of Paris, cannot fail to be approved of by him, whose constant study has been, in the midst of his victorious career, to alleviate the miseries of war."—Now remark how really good intentions are buried, in the awkwardness and coarseness of this epistle. In the first place, he is addressing a *French* prince, and in the genuine style of an English newspaper, talks of his "truly *English* heart," as a distinguishing excellence; and then with still more exquisite

"*les pommes cuites, et de poli que l'acier.* 'Tis the strangest place you can conceive. "They have twenty religions, and but one sauce. All their liquors are sour, except the vinegar. They have no ripe fruit but baked apples, and nothing polished but steel."

refinement, reminds the same prince, not of the victorious, or magnanimous Alexander, but of *the conquerour of Paris*.

The next example is an extract from a despatch of Lord Castlereagh, dated Paris, April 13th, 1814—"I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that Monsieur made his publick entry yesterday, and was received with the utmost cordiality by the whole population of Paris. It was deemed more expedient that the solemnity should be purely French, the allied Sovereigns did not therefore attend, nor did any of their troops join the cortege; but, as the Bourbon family had been so long resident in England, I thought I should neither incur the displeasure of the Prince Regent, nor give occasion to injurious comment, by meeting his Royal Highness at the barrier, and accompanying him into Paris. The whole of the British mission here present attended, and with the Field Marshals of the empire, were close to his person, whilst he traversed the town amidst the applause of the people."—It is evident from the tenour of this letter, that his Lordship doubted the propriety of what he had done. It is difficult to imagine a more extraordinary blunder; and which nothing but the habitual arrogance of his nation, that renders them absolutely regardless of the feelings of foreigners, could have betrayed Lord Castlereagh, who is really one of the most accomplished and polite men in England, into committing. The emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and their ministers and generals, with the most obvious policy, and just knowledge of human nature, and, we may add, the most amiable refinement, refrained from this triumphal entry. But the English should have been the last to obtrude themselves; their very apparition must have awakened the hatred, which twenty years of exasperated misfortune had nourished, and converted at once the grateful return of the Bourbons into a scene of humiliation to France, and offensive triumph to their inveterate foe. The unfortunate Count d'Artois, whom the admirable policy of the allied sovereigns left to enter the capital, accompanied only by the Marshals of France, and his own friends and countrymen, was doomed to be "met at the barrier" by Lord Castlereagh and suite, and obliged to drag these unlucky Englishmen in his train. Surely there was not a subaltern of any other nation at Paris, who would not have shrugged his shoulders at this procedure of the British minister.

The next example will carry us a step higher. Every one has heard of the royal fêtes that were given in the Parks for the amusement of the people, to which the publick attention was long directed, and the newspapers filled with puffing and describing, though in the end they sadly disappointed expectation, after the great expense and time that had been devoted to their preparation. They were managed by Colonel Congreve, under the particular control of the Prince Regent, with whom they were a favourite project, and by whose particular will they were given. One of the most prominent objects was the representation of naval engagements on the Serpentine river; this consisted of two parts, the capture of two American frigates, and the destruction of a French fleet. We extract from the *Courier*, a part of the description.—“Thus ended the first part “of the engagement, (the capture of the two American frigates) “and so much *a matter of course* was the result, “that the spectators did not allow their exultations to exhibit “itself in a single cheer.” (This turn at least was ingenious.) “—A French fleet of six sail of the line, the admiral’s ship “a three decker, lay at anchor; a British fleet of equal force “was in sight; it did not require the spirit of prophecy to “foresee the consequences.”—As to the *American* part of it, we have nothing to object; we have perhaps been sufficiently recompensed for the disasters we suffered in this engagement, by the fame we have acquired in some others, by the uncourtly sullenness of the mob who refused to cheer this royal success, and by the sarcasm of the Liverpool merchant, that if his Majesty’s ministers could strike the American flag on the ocean, as well as on the Serpentine river, they would give greater pleasure to the country. But the *French* fleet. The Regent had just conducted Louis 18th with much parade from the capital, and parted with many embraces on the beach at Dover—a long and bitter contest had just closed; the impassible barrier which vigilant despotism had placed between the two nations was at length removed, they were all anxious to visit each other, to examine scenes from which they had been long excluded, to renew ancient intimacies, and to indulge the hopes of future peace and amity. Every circumstance that took place at London, was speedily known at Paris; every movement was watched to judge of the feelings and intentions of each other. The peculiar situation of the French king

made even trifles of consequence to him. What then must have been his feelings, what would be the impressions of the French, respecting the magnanimous and conciliatory sentiments of their new friends, to find in this grand fête of princely invention, and whose details were described in all the papers of Europe, that a prominent part of it, was a deliberate insult to the national honour, in the first moments of gayety and joy, at the restoration of peace ?

We shall make copious extracts from the pamphlet that has given occasion to these long, perhaps *lengthy* remarks. It would have been better, if the author had railed at Mr. Southey less, even if he were certain that he wrote the Review. We doubt whether the calling Dr. Franklin Jupiter tonans will bear a strict examination. The allusion, in page 98, to an adventure attributed to the Regent is unfortunate. The ballads indeed were sung, and the caricatures were exhibited, but the event was equally fabulous and absurd, and only calculated for the "vary vulgar," the mere populace. It afforded a striking instance of the excessive licentiousness of the English press, which goes all lengths in abusing themselves, as well as the rest of the world.

"Thus much with respect to the fairness of this writer's mode of reasoning, from a single fact, which is brought forward in such a way as to render it impossible to refute it, even were it worth the trouble. A circumstance which takes place in no particular town or district, which is charged upon a man without a name, and which was committed at no time that we know of, may for ever elude the test of inquiry, and baffle the world to demonstrate that it never happened. For this reason it is, that fraud always deals in loose generalities, and in this way does shuffling malignity not only escape detection, but evade the consequences of its falsehoods and misrepresentations.

"It sometimes happens, however, that in an evil hour, a writer, in his unwary zeal to criminate or condemn, is betrayed into an assertion that subjects him to the unpleasant consequence of being convicted on the statute. Thus it has happened to the unfortunate laureat, who roundly asserts, that, 'every freewoman in the United States is a voter,' an assertion which bespeaks either a total ignorance of the subject on which he ventured to remark, or an uncontrollable propensity to misrepresent. In the state of New-Jersey alone the right of suffrage was formerly extended to unmarried females of the age of twenty-

“one years, and possessing property to the value of fifty pounds.* Yet the writer who pretends to give a comprehensive analysis, of our political institutions and government, is either ignorant that the state of New-Jersey formed an exception to a general rule, or else studiously falsifies his knowledge for the purpose of supporting an argument, that is of no consequence whatever to the subject. We have occasionally met with men possessing such a decided vocation to falsehood, that they told untruths for the mere pleasure of the thing; but we have too great a respect for the laureat, to insinuate that he belongs to this disinterested class of dealers in hyperbole.

“It was merely to expose this writer’s want of accuracy, that we remarked upon the subject at all, for really it does not appear to be a matter of the least consequence to the character of a nation, whether free women vote or not. The fact is one of those which arises from some peculiar or local circumstances, and neither indicates corruption of manners, or an abuse of rational liberty. If it does, however, we can give an instance extracted from a work, which, having been often attributed to the laureat, and never, so far as has come to our knowledge, denied by him, may be fairly charged to his account. Though not exactly a parallel case, it will serve to show that even in England the right of suffrage is not only exercised in fact, but grossly, indecorously, and blasphemously, abused by freewomen. The laureat, speaking in his assumed character, gives the following curious information concerning an election in the ancient and respectable city of Bristol, renowned in early ages for dealing in white, and in latter days for dealing in black slaves.

“‘In Bristol,’ observes the writer, ‘a freeman’s daughter conveys the qualification of voting by marriage. Women enter into the heat of party even more eagerly than men; and when the mob is more than usually mischievous, are sure to be at the head of it. In one election for the city of Bristol, which was violently contested, it was common for the same women to marry several men. The mode of divorce was, that as soon as the ceremony was over, and the parties came out of church, they went into the churchyard, shaking hands over a grave, and repeating, ‘Now death do us part;’ after which the bridegroom

* “This privilege has since been withheld by an act of the Legislature.”

“went to exercise his right of suffrage, and the bride to confer it on other husbands.”*

“A more bitter mockery of a sacrament†; a more wicked insult to the dead; a more wanton violation of principle, feeling, and delicacy, was never ascribed to that sex, which, however it may be libelled, is ever the last in the train of national corruption. When the unmarried daughters of freemen, who, it is presumed, have been brought up in the habits of decorum, thus prostitute themselves to become the instruments of a mere electioneering deception, what must be the standard of morality and decency among the unmannered and ignorant? Such a mockery of a sacred rite involves every characteristic feature of moral depravity; and when the laureat can bring forward its parallel in the elections of this country, let him, if he will, provoke a comparison between the state of society in the United States and England.

“As a natural consequence of this extension of the right of suffrage among the people, the writer next infers the ignorance and barbarity of their representatives from the famous story of Matthew Lyon, who, being a ‘turbulent Irishman,’ as he truly affirms; and furthermore, as he affirms, not truly, ‘the representative of a keg of whiskey,’ every member of the house, according to his improved manner of drawing conclusions, must of course be exactly in the same predicament. That Matthew Lyon was an Irishman we believe is most true; but so is Lord Wellington and Mr. Grattan, one a peer, the other a member of the lower house. No decisive argument against the character of any legislative body can, therefore, be drawn from that fact. That Matthew Lyon fought with ‘one Roger Griswold,’ as the writer, with his characteristic and vulgar insolence, affects to call him, is equally true; and so far as this single circumstance can go to justify the general invectives of the laureat, we are willing to give it full weight.

“In the course of this most disagreeable undertaking, the necessity of which we deplore, we have had occasion almost at every step to lament the want of authorities, to which we might resort for those little domestick facts, that do not generally become matters of record, are only pre-

* Espriella's Letters.

† This expression would imply, that the author of the *United States and England*, is a Roman Catholic.

“served in the fleeting productions of the times, and escape
 “the research of those who, like ourselves, have but little
 “appetite for national scandal. Unluckily for us, no second
 “Janson, possessing the irritability, without the talent, of
 “Smelfungus; no systematick libeller; no thorough Ameri-
 “can ‘Grumbler,’ stuffed full of ignorance and prejudice, and
 “irritated at the loss of his ‘fifteen per cent.’ ever travelled
 “over England with a bailiff at his heels, collecting high-
 “way tittle-tattle for the edification of his countrymen. We
 “have, consequently, been obliged to consult grave law-
 “yers, sage magistrates, and antiquarians, ‘with spectacles
 “on nose,’ and to trust our heads (being batchelors) in the
 “dangerous precincts of Doctors’ Commons, in order to
 “come at authorities. It was, therefore, by the merest
 “accident in the world, that we obtained a record of the
 “following case, which is fairly entitled to a comparison
 “with that of the ‘valiant Lyon,’ and which did not occur
 “in the persons of a ‘turbulent Irishman’ and ‘a representa-
 “tive of whiskey,’ but in those of a knight of the shire,
 “and an honourable baronet. Whether this valiant knight
 “of the shire was of the order of chivalry, or whether the
 “honourable baronet belonged to that of the ‘Spinning
 “Jinny,’ as the ‘man that called himself Peter Porcupine,’
 “ycleps it, we cannot positively say. The account of this
 “desperate engagement is taken from the English news-
 “papers, which are, at least, equal in authority to the gos-
 “siping of a fugitive from justice, or a tenant of Newgate.

“Fracas Extraordinary.

“‘In the committee upon the new post-office bill, yester-
 “day, a curious fracas took place between a city baronet
 “and a county member, who exchanged inkstands, but for-
 “tunately without hurting each other, although with some
 “annoyance to their neighbours from the contents of these
 “missiles. The committee room was immediately cleared,
 “and considerable discussion took place with a view to ad-
 “just the dispute.’

“*Morning Chronicle.*”

[Page 32—37.]

“Having despatched, in this summary manner, the exe-
 “cutive, legislative, and judicial branches of our govern-
 “ment, the laureat proceeds to attack our general system

“ of toleration, as leading to a thousand extravagancies of
 “ opinion, and ultimately to a total indifference to gospel
 “ truths. ‘It is almost needless to add,’ he observes, ‘that
 “ this divorce (of church and state) has been productive of
 “ a pretty numerous crop of illegitimate sects, all equally
 “ thriving under the salutary and fostering neglect of the
 “ parent state. To recount them would be endless; Pres-
 “ byterians, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, Moravians,
 “ Quakers, Dunkers, and Shakers, with a multitude of oth-
 “ ers whose names it would be as unprofitable to enumerate,
 “ as it would be difficult to assign their characteristick diffe-
 “ rences of doctrine or belief, exhibit altogether as satisfac-
 “ tory a view as can be desired, of the fanatical extravagance,
 “ to which the bulk of mankind would be driven by the
 “ raptures of visionaries, or the arts of impostors, or by the
 “ mere necessity and craving of the human mind for some
 “ intercourse with its Creator, in the absence of a national
 “ church and an established worship.’

“ We should be better disposed to assent to the argu-
 “ ment contained in this extract, were not the reasoning
 “ contradicted by the simple fact, that in England, where
 “ there is ‘a national church and an established worship,’ a
 “ greater diversity of religious sects is to be found than in the
 “ United States, where nothing of that nature exists. We
 “ are sorry to quote the authority of a writer against his own
 “ assertions, inasmuch as it seems like wounding the eagle
 “ with an arrow feathered from his own wing. But this is
 “ a catastrophe which often befalls men who change their
 “ opinions from motives of interest, or convenience, or even
 “ a sense of conviction. In the work from which we
 “ formerly extracted, we find the following copious list of
 “ the different religious sects which had sprung up in Eng-
 “ land, under the fostering patronage, not of universal tole-
 “ ration, but of a national church, and an established re-
 “ ligion.

“ ‘ Arminians, Socinians, Baxterians, New Americans, Sa-
 “ bellians, Lutherans, Moravians, Swedenborgians, Atha-
 “ nasians, Episcopalians, Arians, Sabbatarians, Trinitarians,
 “ Unitarians, Millenarians, Necessarians, Sublapsarians,
 “ Supralapsarians, Antinomians, Hutchinsonians, Sandema-
 “ nians, Muggletonians, Baptists, Anabaptists, Poedobaptists,
 “ Methodists, Papists, Universalists, Calvinists, Materialists,
 “ Destructionists, Brownists, Independents, Protestants,
 “ Huguenots, Nonjurors, Seceders, Hernhutters, Dunkers,

“Jumpers, Shakers, and Quakers.’ ‘A precious nomenclature,’ observes the laureat, ‘only to be paralleled by the catalogue of the Philistines, in Sanson Nazareno ; or the muster roll of Anna de Santiago, under Aquias, Brum, and Acatu, lieutenant generals to Lucifer himself.’* ”

“It would seem, from this extraordinary catalogue of religious sects, that we must look to some other cause than mere toleration, for the source of that diversity of opinion which prevails in the United States. If, under the salutary restraints of an established church, holding forth in one hand rich bishopricks, fat stalls, and comfortable deaneries, and the full exercise of civil rights, and in the other brandishing tests and disqualifications, such a vast variety of sects have taken root in England, it must be obvious to the most superficial reasoner, that this latitude of opinion is not to be attributed, to what the writer is pleased to call the divorce of church and state. What the real causes of these divisions in the church are, we do not feel ourselves inclined to inquire, because our object is already attained, in having refuted the position, that a unity of belief in religious matters depends upon the establishment of a national church.

“That such a union in mere points of ceremony, is a matter of very great consequence to the enlarged and universal interests of religion, seems to be a position difficult to establish. So long as mankind agree in the belief of the fundamental principles of the christian faith, a difference in ceremonials appears to be of no very great consequence, either to their present or future state, provided they possess the virtue of charity. We do not mean that which consists, in merely relieving the necessities of our fellow creatures, but that charity, which is said to be even greater than faith ; which prompts us to deal gently towards those who differ with us in opinion, to pity them if they are wrong, and refrain from persecuting them for those speculative doctrines which, having no natural approximation either to virtue or vice, require not to be lacerated by the scourge, or purified at the stake.

“It has, unhappily we believe for the interests of true piety, become of late the practice of certain political writers in England, to associate religion in almost every inquiry, whatever may be its nature. The author of the

“ abusive article now under consideration, having followed
“ the fashion, and mixed eternal truths with temporal false-
“ hoods, we were obliged, contrary to our feelings, to repel
“ his charges here as elsewhere. But we cannot forbear
“ expressing a belief, that this practice of combining religion
“ and politicks for ever together, is injurious to the inter-
“ ests of the former. Religion is like the white flake of
“ driven snow, descending untouched from the skies, and
“ cannot come in contact with any earthly matter without be-
“ ing soiled and polluted. It communicates directly from
“ the universal intelligence to the intelligence of man, and
“ requires not the intervention of mortal institutions to im-
“ plant or foster it in his bosom. It is degraded by being
“ associated in the paltry struggle of ambition ; and to place
“ its fate upon the decision of a battle, or the existence of
“ any worldly establishments, is to impeach the divinity of
“ its origin.

“ This extreme anxiety in the English politicians to con-
“ nect the interests of church and state, indicates pretty
“ clearly, we think, that the latter wants a little propping to
“ prevent its fall. Finding their political system no longer
“ able to stand alone, they have cunningly endeavoured to
“ sustain it by establishing a family alliance, and connecting
“ its interests inseparably with those of religion, nay, ma-
“ king the latter entirely dependent on the former. Con-
“ nected they may indeed be, but to say that the existence
“ of the true religion depends on political institutions, is to
“ affirm that the oak is sustained by the ivy which entwines
“ about its self-supported trunk.

[Page 43—46.]

“ Another and a most serious charge is made by the
“ *Quarterly Review*, involving the reputation of that sex
“ which, we should suppose, none but a worthless recreant,
“ whose crimes had banished him the society of virtue,
“ would insult by a general imputation of a want of respect
“ for the marriage vow. This charge is introduced by an
“ advertisement of ‘ my wife Betsey ’ by ‘ one John Bolton,’
“ and is supported entirely on the authority of a most inge-
“ nious, as well as satisfactory, calculation of the witness
“ from Newgate. ‘ I once,’ says this libeller of both worlds,
“ cut out of all the newspapers we received for one month,
“ the advertisements of all the runaway wives, and pasted

“ them on a slip of paper, close under each other. At the
 “ end of a month, the slip reached from the ceiling to the
 “ floor of a room more than ten feet high, and contained
 “ one hundred and twenty-three advertisements. We did
 “ not receive, at most, more than one twentieth part of the
 “ newspapers of the United States. If a calculation be
 “ made from these facts, it will be found that there were
 “ about twenty-five thousand separations and elopements in
 “ a year; a calculation which I am certain is far within
 “ bounds.’ Was ever the reputation of womankind sub-
 “ jected to the criterion of such a calculation? It reminds
 “ us, by an irresistible association, of that ingenious problem
 “ proposed by honest Jack, to ascertain the value of a cart-
 “ load of turnips by the price of a pound of butter. The
 “ premises of the witness from Newgate are pretty much of
 “ the same kind, and we have no doubt that his conclusion
 “ is of equal accuracy with tha’, which would have been the
 “ result of our honest tar’s mode of comparison. There is
 “ something so grossly ludicrous, such a broad and vulgar
 “ grin on the face of it, that we cannot prevail on ourselves
 “ to treat it seriously. For the amusement of our readers
 “ we will try what would be the result of such a calculation
 “ as it respects England.

“ From the records of Westminster-hall, and the peri-
 “ odical works, newspapers, &c. published in England with-
 “ in a single year, we have been able to collect fifty-two
 “ cases of what used to be politely termed in former times
 “ a *tête-à-tête*, eighteen of which were of titled ladies; sixty-
 “ eight elopements, and thirty-nine instances of wives expo-
 “ sed to publick sale, like cattle at Smithfield.* We are
 “ well assured that of the law cases, we saw not (being
 “ no lawyers) one in twenty; of the periodical works, not
 “ one in five hundred; and of the newspapers, not one in
 “ five thousand. Now, if the calculation be made from
 “ these premises, it will incontrovertibly appear, that at
 “ least eight hundred and eighty thousand women in Eng-

* “ Here follows an account of the manner in which these sales are performed, ex-
 “ tracted from a late British publication :

“ ‘ Shropshire. The town of Ludlow lately witnessed one of those scenes to which
 “ custom has attached the character of lawful transactions in the minds of the lower
 “ class. A well-looking woman, wife of John Hall, to whom she had been married
 “ only one month, was brought by him in a halter, and sold by auction in the market
 “ for two-and sixpence, with the addition of sixpence for the rope with which she was
 “ led. In this sale the customary market fees were charged—toll, one penny : pitch-
 “ ing, threepence.’

New Monthly Magazine, for Sept. 1814.”

“ land are divorced, run away, or are sold by their husbands
“ at publick auction ! Admitting there are one million of
“ married females in that country, it will result that rather
“ more than eight tenths are in one or other of these pre-
“ dicaments ; a calculation, we think, very much within
“ bounds ! We beg forgiveness of that sex whom it is in
“ our nature to reverence and admire, for the levity with
“ which we have treated this subject. But there are pro-
“ positions so absurd, that they can only be exposed by
“ others still more extravagant ; and imputations that men
“ would only render their characters questionable by con-
“ descending to refute.”

[Page 58—60.]

“ It may not, however, be altogether idle to inquire into
“ those peculiarities in our situation, which have, as we
“ conceive, occasioned the human mind in this country to be
“ diverted in so very uncommon a degree, from what may
“ be termed the business of literature. The principal
“ cause heretofore assigned by writers well acquainted with
“ the state of our country, is the facility of acquiring wealth
“ and distinction, by a thousand other means less laborious
“ and more certain. That this is of powerful and exten-
“ sive operation we are well satisfied, but it appears to us
“ that the want of habits of study may be traced to a cause
“ much deeper and more remote.

“ Among our adventurous and determined forefathers,
“ who left their native climes to battle with the unknown
“ dangers of an unknown world, were undoubtedly many
“ learned men, especially clergymen, habituated to study
“ and contemplation. But from the moment they set foot
“ in this new world, they encountered a series of obstacles
“ that demanded every exertion of mind and body to sur-
“ mount. Their days were consumed in providing against
“ cold and famine, or in guarding against the fury and the
“ wiles of the jealous Indian. Many years of danger and
“ hardship elapsed, before they could sit down quietly, and
“ resume their usual habits of life ; and when that period
“ arrived, these habits were lost irrecoverably in the long
“ struggle for existence. It is well known how tedious,
“ slow, and lingering is the approach of a people to learning,
“ and in how short a period they relapse into other pursuits.
“ A few years of active and dangerous employment, are
“ sufficient for the creation of a hardy and warlike race,

“ but generations must pass away, and ages of peace elapse,
“ before a people, once drawn from the habits of study and
“ contemplation, will probably ever resume them again.
“ An active life, and one which associates danger with
“ almost every step, is altogether incompatible with the na-
“ ture and pursuits of the scholar, and it will be found that
“ though in a few rare instances a man may retain his ac-
“ quirements in such a situation, his posterity will never
“ succeed to them.

“ A close inspection of the history of this country, from
“ its first colonization to the revolution, which threw an
“ everlasting barrier between the United States and Eng-
“ land, will show that at no period whatever were the scat-
“ tered people exempt from an actual state of warfare, either
“ against savage men, or savage beasts. The first settler,
“ in addition to his implements of labour, was obliged to
“ carry his musket or his rifle, and his employment was
“ always a combination of labour with danger. It is easily
“ to be supposed, that this was no period for learning to
“ flourish, or for the human mind to take a direction towards
“ literature, or the arts, except such as were necessary to
“ subsistence or security. Men now living in the city of
“ New-York can recollect the period, when the inhabitants
“ were under continual apprehensions of Indian hostility.
“ Yet such is the elasticity, and such the capacity, of young
“ nations, as well as young children, to recover the effects
“ of adverse accidents, that the genius of our country rose
“ against the pressure of these obstacles ; literary institu-
“ tions began to spring up every where, and every year
“ assumed new consequence, and a taste, at least, for polite
“ literature gradually appeared wherever there was personal
“ security. At the commencement of those disputes between
“ this country and England, which at once monopolized, as
“ it were, the minds of men, we had many elegant and ac-
“ complished scholars. They did not, it is true, write
“ books, for every man was not then his own writer, but
“ they had acquired stores of science and information that
“ would have placed them high in any country.

“ At this point of time the stormy indications of a revolu-
“ tion appeared in the firmament, and drew the attention of
“ the colonists from every other object. The questions
“ which then agitated the minds of men, were such as in-
“ volved considerations of sufficient magnitude to occupy
“ them all, and to combine every energy in the pursuit of

“ one single object. It will be perceived that there is a
“ vast difference, and one materially affecting this inquiry,
“ between a war carried into the territory of an enemy, and
“ one that is brought home to ourselves. In one case it is
“ only felt remotely, and is little more than a rumour of
“ war ; it endangers the personal safety, and interferes
“ with the pursuits, only of those actually engaged on the
“ side of the invading party. But in the other, it comes
“ home to the bosom and business of every man ; it howls
“ at his door, invades his home, and forces him from his
“ ordinary occupations to the defence of every object dear
“ to his affections. For centuries past, though England
“ has been almost continually engaged in hostilities, her
“ wars, with the exception of the civil commotion which
“ converted a very indifferent monarch into an illustrious
“ martyr, have been carried on at a distance, and, conse-
“ quently, did not interfere with the ordinary pursuits of a
“ time of peace. During a lapse of ages she has seen but
“ one hostile army, and in all that time, with the exception
“ just made, the cultivators of literature as well as of the
“ soil, have remained undisturbed in their occupations.
“ But it was otherwise with the people of America. Their
“ wars have hitherto been wars for their altars and their
“ hearths, waged, not for foreign conquest, but for defence
“ against savages, or enemies exasperated into a fury, that
“ gave their incursions the character of an irruption of
“ barbarians. Our struggle with England in the revolu-
“ tion, was hand to hand, foot to foot, and heart against
“ heart. Every limb and sinew was strained almost to
“ agony, and every vein of the country bled at different
“ times. There was not an asylum in all the land where
“ the student could retire to pursue his studies, free from
“ the apprehension of danger, or out of hearing of the din
“ of war ; and if he studied at all, it was, like Archime-
“ des, how to defend his home.

“ This ‘ tug of war ’ lasted seven years ; and in seven
“ years, habits that have not taken deep root are totally
“ eradicated. Those who are young, adopt new ones ;
“ and those who are too old to change, die. During this
“ stormy period another race sprung up, and it is obvious
“ that their pursuits would receive a direction from the
“ circumstances of the times. The war ended at last in the
“ establishment of our independence, but not in the imme-
“ diate restoration of a state of things favourable to the re-

“vival of learning. It was followed by a long and interesting contest, with respect to the adoption of a constitution, that was to form a bond of union between thirteen separate and independent republics. The different local partialities, the diversity of opinions prevailing among men equally eminent for talents and virtues, the mutual sacrifices necessary to be made, and the difficulty of accommodating this opposition of interests and opinions, delayed for a long time the settlement of this most important question, which agitated every heart with anxiety. During this interesting period, it is not to be supposed that the minds of that class of men, which usually furnishes the materials for scholars, would be sufficiently abstracted from the object on which, in their opinion, depended the good or evil result of their seven years’ labours, to admit of pursuing any studies, but such as would qualify them to support their political opinions. Accordingly, we find this period fruitful in orators and politicians, equal, perhaps, to any of the age; but very few, if any writers on subjects distinct from this great constitutional question.

“Hardly had the minds of men become calm and settled after this struggle, when the revolution of France began to draw the eyes, to absorb the attention, and excite the passions of mankind in both hemispheres. It brought the democratical and monarchical principles into a dreadful contest that shook them both, alternately, to their centre; it divided the human race into two great parties, and converted the world into a coffee-house for political discussions. In its progress, it brought into action, and gave a stimulus to every turbulent passion of our nature; men, women, and children, every where whirled about in its vortex; individual and national antipathies acquired increasing bitterness; those who might have grown to be scholars became only politicians; and those who had already begun to emerge from the current, fell back into the whirlpool to rise no more; or, if they regained the surface, appeared in some new form, like the Virginian rail, which is said to go down a bird in autumn, and come up a frog in the spring.

“This rapid sketch of the history of our country may, perhaps, serve to account for the few specimens of literature and the fine arts to be found in the United States, without resorting to the mortifying confession of a want

“ of original genius. The peculiar situations in which we
“ have been placed during the short period of our existence,
“ have drawn the mind continually from that calm and
“ quiet self-possession without which few, perhaps we
“ might say none, can ever hope to enter into the deep
“ recesses of learning, or sport in the fair fields of poetical
“ inspiration. Such pursuits and amusements require a
“ mind abstracted from the labours of active life, and free
“ from the apprehension of personal danger, as well as the
“ temptations of worldly ambition. The allurements of
“ knowledge are gentle, quiet, and unassuming: those of
“ glory, wealth, and pleasure, glittering and obtrusive. It
“ is the choice of Hercules; and as few men have the
“ strength of body, so still fewer have the firmness of mind,
“ or the judgment, to make a selection equally judicious
“ with that of the hero. The business of a scholar is in-
“ compatible with any other excitement than the love of
“ knowledge, and the hope of a pure and spotless immor-
“ tality. To him, a mind undisturbed and free to pursue
“ the object of his peculiar contemplation, is indispensably
“ necessary; and the nation that does not already possess
“ men who have acquired a decided vocation to study,
“ must never expect them to be the product of a long suc-
“ cession of dangerous labours, fearful apprehensions, and
“ bloody invasions.”

[Page 86—91.]

We hope that the indignation which this libel has excited among men of all parties in America, may create some sensation in England, and that it may there be treated eventually with the scorn it merits. It is indeed time, that some generous writer should volunteer on their side, to counteract the tendency of national prejudices, to nourish implacable hatred between the two nations. The abuse of the daily papers we disregard; it is their vocation; and the publick generally make allowances for their misrepresentation and violence. The writings of a man like Cobbet afford us no satisfaction; because, if he espouses our cause now, it is not to make compensation for former abuse; but, the mere restless ebullition of factious opposition to his own government; nor have we any security, that he will not return to-morrow to his primitive doctrines, and again stimulate the mob with every species of calumny, to wish our utter destruction. In this country, many of the most eminent citizens, in the fear

that France would have attained universal power, that was almost within the grasp of the madman, from whose tyranny she has escaped ; with a keen perception of the mischievous political consequences that often follow strong, national antipathies ; and from a generous respect and esteem for the illustrious character of the land of their ancestors, have long and fearlessly stemmed the torrent of party and popular passion. From the splendid eulogy of Mr. Walsh, down to essays in a newspaper, in orations and sermons,* no opportunity has been neglected to allay irritation, to soften the keen sense of injuries, to do the utmost to preserve an honourable neutrality, or, if they were forced into the war, that it should be, on what seemed the weakest side, against the tyrant who aspired to the despotick control of the world. Disdaining the easy and ignoble course of rousing the passions of the people, to profit more securely by their delusion ; they have bared their breasts to encounter the most natural direction of publick feeling, till ordinary, though honest minds, have in numerous instances, given way to believe the base imputations that party rancour has suggested. Such efforts, to be continued, must be met ; to be useful, must be mutual. Believing, as we do, that there is nothing essentially conflicting in the permanent interests of the two nations, that a state of social and commercial intercourse is advantageous to both ; we trust some efforts may be made on the side of England, to remove prejudice, and to cultivate esteem and good will towards us ; if not, it is in vain to expect that such exertions can be sustained on one side alone ; and we may at once apprehend, and prepare for a constant succession of future wars, founded not in policy, but in passion. Venerating many of their institutions, admiring their progress in all the useful arts ; contemplating, with delight, the high and refined education, and the enlarged sphere of charity, which their wealth and publick spirit have given them, and which adorn the whole surface of their island ; appreciating the high degree of civil liberty they enjoy ; and knowing that a large portion of the superiour classes, in that country, are well disposed to regard ours with a friendly eye, we deprecate every thing that can tend to alienate our respective good will.

* These productions are generally received with dignified complacency, as a sort of feudal homage, sometimes complimented for their style, frequently reprinted, and cited as unequivocal proofs in support of their own moderation and justice, and there, on the part of England, the exertions to conciliation usually terminate.

Since we are again fortunately at peace, perhaps a plan to do away misapprehensions of each other might be devised, that would be attended with salutary effects. A species of cartel might be arranged, to exchange a few individuals annually, who could devote one or two years, to learn the true state of things in the countries of each other ; and thus dissipate illusions, and eradicate notions of very opposite tendency, but which create much trouble and embarrassment to both governments. They might send us a certain number of those, who think, that the citizens of a republick must be all vulgar and factious, with some of another class, who indulge the romantick idea, that republicks are in every thing pure and spotless. We will return an equal number, selected from those who imagine kings and nobles to be monsters ; and a few others, who believe, that in England, the statesmen are all dignified, liberal and honest, that great titles make great men, and that there is nothing hypocritical, paltry and corrupt, under the gorgeous decorations of aristocracy and royalty. In addition to these, a few Americans, who are confident that England may be starved by embargoes and non-importations, and some Englishmen, who are convinced, that the United States must perish without their “razors and mousetraps,” might be shipped in the steerage.

After the preceding article was sent to the printer, we received a volume of 176 pages octavo, entitled, *Remarks on the Review of Inchiquin's Letters, published by the Quarterly Review, addressed to the Right Honourable George Canning, Esquire, by an Inhabitant of New-England.* We have hastily perused this elaborate answer, and regret not having seen it sooner, that we might have given it the attention it deserves. Much knowledge is discovered on most of the points in discussion ; on several of them, an unanswerable reply is given to the protegés of Mr. Canning. We regret two or three things which are unfortunately dwelt upon, and which, as they have not the same weight in England, as in the mind of the writer, may prevent the book from being read with so much interest, as it would otherwise have inspired, because it contains many

just and incontrovertible statements, relating to our own country.

The writer relies on the authority of *Colquhoun*, for the account of the various descriptions of crimes, and the numbers who practise them. *Colquhoun* published a valuable work, but he had seen so much of the population particularly obnoxious to the police, that his mind was in a degree jaundiced, and his opinions distorted; he has furnished a list of 119,500 criminals, of various descriptions, living in London alone. This list is a curiosity, but is, in many parts of it, ludicrously absurd. The author of the letter would have been less credulous, to be consistent, if he had read what is said of Mr. C.'s computation, in the "*Picture of London*;" or he would not have devoted eighteen pages of his book, to a most stupid caricature extracted from the same work. This "*Picture of London*" is an annual publication of Sir Richard Phillips, of whom we have already spoken; who, after becoming a bankrupt, partly from publishing a number of very foolish books in a splendid manner; with the aid of some of their luckless authors, "*got up*" this most malignant and extravagant account of the *English Reviews*, to whose agency they attributed their misfortunes. Yet nothing is more contrary to experience, than that any criticism can long depreciate a work of merit, or give more than a momentary reputation to one without it. That these reviews have many of them been shamefully prostituted, there can be no doubt; no more, than that the existence of such reviews has either been destroyed, or their circulation greatly restricted by such conduct. The author's abuse of the *Edinburgh Review* is rash and ridiculous. In religion and politics there are some points, on which its soundness may be doubted, and many where its authority will be denied. But on most subjects of science, taste, morals, and literature, its strongest political enemies magnanimously admit its accurate knowledge and sagacious judgment. Even if this were not notorious, it would savour of indecency, to call that work "*a nuisance*," which has long been supported by the talents of some of the most eminent men in England. From the want of temper on the score of reviews, we cannot help thinking, that the writer has at some former period been a victim; and here he will not accuse us of personality, for we can form no probable conjecture who he is; but when he calls Sir R. Phillips

or his garretteer, "*a judicious writer,*" and exclaims, "*How greatly are mankind indebted to this frank, honest-hearted writer,*" we must presume, that there is a feeling of personal gratitude towards this redoubtable ally, against a common enemy; and his petulant ill humour recalls to mind the scene between Beaumarchais and the physician: "*Peut etre Monsieur, a-t-il ecrit une tragedie dans sa jeunesse.*"

We will further notice a trifling error, in speaking of the "*Marchioness of Yarmouth.*" There is no such person. The Marchioness of Hertford is the mother-in-law of the Countess of Yarmouth, and we presume his allusion is to the intimacy of the former with the Prince of Wales. In collecting his specimens of eloquence, from the "*thunder and lightning*" class of orators, in the British parliament, the writer should not have overlooked the more recent effusions of General Mathew and Sir Frederick Flood.

We have heard, that there is a third answer, which we have not been able to obtain. We are glad of it for reasons already given. We hope these answers will cross the Atlantick, and though none of them are calculated for the meridian of England, yet, as they will serve to shew the indignation that has been so widely excited in this country, by the foul calumny of the *Quarterly Review*, it may be hoped, that some manly Englishman may come forward to investigate the subject.

A Few Weeks in Paris during the residence of the allied Sovereigns in that Metropolis. First American edition. Boston, Cummings & Hilliard, pp. 168, 12mo.

IN contemplating the history of the last thirty years, we can with difficulty preserve the sobriety of thinking, necessary to historical reflections. We are intoxicated with the passions of the period; our blood is heated with the contagious violence of an era of subversion. The French revolution in itself, the mere mechanical part of it, is incomparably more vast, than that of any other on record; but when we consider the relative situation of the rest of the world, the wide spread of refinement and intelligence, the intimate social relation between different countries, the promulgation of